

# ART XXI.—*Certain Suffixes in Oceanic Languages.*

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(Communicated by R. D. BOYS, M.A.).

## 1.—Nature of the Enquiry.

Four Tables have been compiled by the writer, showing:—

Table I.—Verbal Suffixes	} in certain Oceanic Languages.
Table II.—Noun Suffixes	
Table III.—Passive Suffixes	
Table IV.—Adjectival Suffixes	

After each Table instances are given of words which show the presence of such Suffixes with remarks thereupon, and such conclusions are drawn as seem to be warranted by the evidence adduced.

## 2.—Object of the Enquiry.

(a) To collect instances of Verbal and Noun Suffixes occurring in languages where their presence has not been recognised hitherto,

(b) To form a theory that will give a satisfactory explanation of the formation of the Gerundives and of the Passive Suffixes in Polynesian.

Note.—*n* is sounded as *ng* in *singer*. Abbreviations: v.—verb; v.i.—verb intransitive; v.t.—verb transitive; adj.—adjective; n—noun; adv.—adverb; prep.—preposition; Pol.—Polynesian.

TABLE I.

### *Verbal Suffixes.*

This Table is founded on the Table of Verbal Suffixes in Dr. Codrington's "Melanesian Languages," p. 180. New features in it are—(1) Nguna, (2) Gilbert Islands, (3) Rotuma, (4) Maori. (5) Samoan, (6) Tongan, Tahitian, Hawaiian, (7) Malay (8) Ulawa, Sa'a, Wango lists have been amplified, (9) Lau, (10) Melanesian New Guinea (Expedition to Torres Straits, Vol. iii., p. 458), (11) New Britain.

Consonantal.

Syllabic.

#### (a) Loyalty Islands.

Nengone	-	-	<i>ne, ni, ti</i>	-
Lifu	-	-	<i>n</i>	-

## Consonantal.

## Syllabic.

## (b) New Hebrides.

Anaiteum	-	-	-	<i>rai, raig; jai, jaig; naig, taig; haig</i>
Fate	-	-	<i>i, ki, ri, si, ti</i>	- <i>aki, faki, maki, naki, raki</i> <i>sai, saki, taki</i>
Sesake	-	-	<i>i, ki, ti, vi</i>	- <i>raki</i>
Nguna	-	-	<i>i, gi, ki, mi, ni, si, ti, vi</i>	- <i>raki, sai</i>
Ambrym	-	-		- <i>ta</i>
Espiritu Santo	-	-	<i>ni, vi</i>	- <i>tag</i>
Araga	-	-	<i>i</i>	- <i>mai, rai, tai</i>
Oba	-	-	<i>hi, si</i>	- <i>tagi</i>
Maewo	-	-	<i>gi, si</i>	- <i>nagi, va, vagi</i>

## (c) Banks' Islands.

Merlav	-	-	<i>n, r, t</i>	- <i>lu, na, ra, va</i>
Gaua	-	-	<i>g, n, n, r, s, t, v</i>	- <i>gag, lag, nag, rag, sag, tag</i>
Vanua Lava	-	-	<i>g, n, n, r, t</i>	- <i>me, leg, re, se, te, teg, ve</i>
Mota	-	-	<i>g, n, n, r, s, t, v (na, sa)</i>	- <i>ag, gag, lag, mag, nag, nag, rag, sag, tag, vag</i>
Motlag	-	-	<i>g</i>	- <i>heg, geg, leg, veg</i>
Volow	-	-	<i>g, r</i>	- <i>hea, nia, rea, tea, vea</i>
Ureparapara	-	-	<i>n, v</i>	- <i>rañ, sa, te</i>
Torres Islands	-	-	<i>g, j, t</i>	- <i>ga, te</i>

## (d) New Britain.

*k, n, t*

## (e) Fiji.

<i>a, ca, ga, ka, ma, na, ra, ta, va, wa, ya</i>	-	<i>caka, kaka, laka, maka, raka, vaka, waka, yaka</i>
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## (f) Gilbert Islands.

<i>a, 'i, ka, na, ta, ba</i>	-	<i>ba'i</i>
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## (g) Rotuma.

*ki*

## (h) Maori.

*i, hi, ki, mi, ni, ni, pi, ri, ti (ta, na, rana)*

## (i) Samoan.

<i>i, 'i, fi, li, ni, ni, si, ti, vu (ta, va)</i>	-	<i>a'i, fa'i, ga'i, ma'i, na'i, la'i, sa'i, ta'i, tani, va'i</i>
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Consonantal.

Syllabic.

(j) Tongan.

*i, ki, hia, mi, fi*

(k) Tahitian.

*i, hi, mi*

(l) Hawaiian.

*i, ki, ni*

(m) Malay.

*i, k, m, t, si, kan*

(n) Solomon Islands.

Ulawā	-	-	<i>'i, hi, li, mi, ni, ni, ri,</i> <i>si (la, na)</i>	-	<i>a'i, a'ini, ha'ini, la'ini,</i> <i>ma'ini, na'ini, ra'ini,</i> <i>ta'ini</i>
Sa'a	-	-	<i>'i, hi, li, mi, ni, ni, ri,</i> <i>si (la, na)</i>	-	<i>a'i, a'ini, ha'ini, la'ini,</i> <i>ma'ini, na'ini, na'ini,</i> <i>ra'ini, ta'ini</i>
Lau	-	-	<i>'i, fi, li, mi, ni, ni</i>	-	<i>a'i, fa'ini, ma'ini, na'ini,</i> <i>ta'ini</i>
Fagani	-	-	<i>si</i>	-	<i>vagi</i>
Wango	-	-	<i>'i, hi, mi, ni, ni, ri,</i> <i>si</i>	-	<i>a'i, fa'ini, ma'ini, na'ini,</i> <i>ta'ini</i>
Vaturanga-	-	-	<i>hi, li, mi, ni, si, vi</i>	-	<i>vahi</i>
Florida	-	-	<i>hi, li, mi, ni, ni, si, ti,</i> <i>vi</i>	-	<i>hagi, lagi, pagi, sagi, vagi</i>
Savo	-	-	<i>li</i>	-	
Bugotu	-	-	<i>hi, ni, ri, ti, vi</i>	-	<i>hagi, lagi, vagi</i>
Gao	-	-	<i>ni, z</i>	-	
Duke of York	-	-	<i>i, m</i>	-	<i>pai, tai, rai, nai</i>

(o) Melanesian New Guinea.

Roro	-	-	<i>na, ni</i>	-	
Mekeo	-	-	<i>ni</i>	-	
Notu	-	-	<i>i, hi, di, li, ni, ri,</i> <i>(a, ta, na, sa)</i>	-	<i>bai, dai, hai, lai, mai, nai,</i> <i>rai, tagi, agi, gingi</i>
Suau	-	-	<i>i</i>	-	
Kiriwina	-	-	<i>ki</i>	-	
Wedau	-	-	<i>ai, ei, oi, ui, gi, ni</i>	-	
Tavara	-	-	<i>i, e</i>	-	
Mukawa	-	-	<i>i, ni, si, vi</i>	-	

## NOTES, ETC., ON TABLE I.

Dr. Codrington, "Melanesian Languages," p. 177, gives the following definition of the use and the nature of Verbal Suffixes. "The Verbal Suffix marks the word as a Verb. All Verbs have not Suffixes; a Suffix is added to a Verb to change in some way its signification. It may very well be that a Verb with a suffixed termination may be found in a language in which the Verb without a Suffix is not found at present, but the stem is a Verb, and the signification of the Suffix will be felt in the meaning of the word." This quotation applies directly to the use of these Suffixes in the Melanesian languages. While the same Suffixes may be clearly seen attached to Verbs in the Polynesian languages, yet it is very evident that the Polynesian peoples do not regularly employ these Suffixes in the same way or to the same extent in which they are employed in Melanesia. However, instances given below from Samoan and from Maori show certain uses of the Verbal Suffixes directly corresponding to uses in the Melanesian languages.

The Verbal Suffixes are attached in the Melanesian languages to Verbs, Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs, their function being to make a Neuter Verb definitely transitive, or to increase the transitive signification of a Verb already transitive, or to fix its action on to a certain object, or to mark a word as a Verb. In this latter capacity the Verbal Suffixes are attached to Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs. No instance has been collected of a Verbal Suffix added to an undoubted Adjective in any Polynesian language, and it may well be that the Adjectives in Sa'a and Ulawa, to which Verbal Suffixes are added, *paine* big, *maime* small, *haora* (Ulawa), small, are really Verbs, and that the Verbal Suffixes are not really added to pure Adjectives, and in all probability the so-called Adverbs to which the Suffixes are added are really neuter Verbs.

It is unnecessary for the purpose of this enquiry to quote the examples of Verbal Suffixes that are given in the languages treated by Dr. Codrington in "Melanesian Languages," and accordingly examples will be given in those languages only which the writer has himself added to the Table, or which have been amplified.

(1) *Verbal Suffixes in the language of Nguna.*

These have been collected from the translation of the Gospels according to S.S. Matthew and John.

*Maworawora* adj. broken, *mawori* to break, (c.f. Mel. Lang., p. 461); *munu* v.i. to drink, *munugi* to drink of; *marimatagi* v.t. to



prepare. (Mota *matemate* ready); *matauki* v.t. to fear (Ulawā *ma'au*, *ma'auni*); *tinomi* to swallow; *roromi* to love. (Mota *lolo* heart, affections); *samasama* n. glory, *samasamani* to glorify; *punusi* prep. to, v.t. to see, (c.f. Ulawa *loosi*, and Florida *punusi*); *puluti* to seal (Ulawā *pulu* n. pitch, *pulu'i* to pitch); *tatano* to beseech, *tatanori* to ask.

Certain Verbs in Nguna seem to have Suffixes compounded of two forms; *nati* to throw, *natiki* and *natikini* to cast, *noa* to say, to speak, *noasai* and *noakisai* to declare. Dr. Codrington ("Mel. Lang.," p. 465) questions whether *ki* in Sesake is a Verbal Suffix, and in the following instance separates *ki* from the Verb *sapura*, *soro sapura ki na lepa*, sweep away the dirt. He adds, however, that *sapuraki* resembles the Mota *savrag*, and is used in Nguna as meaning to sow; *savrag* itself being made up of *sav* to sow, and *rag*, Verbal Suffix. Since *ki* occurs in Nguna, a neighbouring island, it probably occurs also as a Verbal Suffix in Sesake, and *raki* certainly occurs in Nguna as a Verbal Suffix, and *liniraki* to leave, abandon, shows an undoubted instance of *raki* as a Syllabic Suffix, c.f. Sa'a *liki* to cross, go beyond, leave; Florida *liligi* beside, to pass by.

(2) *Verbal Suffixes in the language of New Britain.*

*Arik* to split, Mota *ari*; *telek* to peck at, Mota *tere*; *likun* to bend, Mota *luk*; *kolot* to scold, Mota *gol*.

(3) *Verbal Suffixes in the language of the Gilbert Islands.*

*Mata* n. eye, *matai* to look covetously at; *boba* to trade in oil, *hobai* to trade; *mana* a branch, *manai* a spear with branches; *uruuru* to engage in destroying, *urua* to destroy, *uruba'i* to engage in destroying; *okai* a house for storing coconuts, *okaia* to store coconuts; *kauka* to open, (Sa'a *hu'e* to open, *hu'esi*, Samoan *sua* to grub up, Maori *huaki* to open); *moti* adj. broken off, *motika* to break; *buti* to go along, *butika* to meet (c.f. Sa'a *odo* to journey on, *odo'i* to meet); *ua* to swim, *uana* to swim out to; *tabu* to forbid, *tabuna* to make taboo; *ruo* to descend, *ruona* to descend to; *inoa* a namesake, *inoana* to name after; *rao* a companion, *raona* to associate with; *kori* v.t. to scratch, *korita* v.t. to scratch; *raba* adj. secret, *rabata* to approach cautiously in order to seize; *bono* adj. shut, *bonata* to close; *rabata* n. the body, v.t. to embrace, *rabata* v.t. to embrace; *urina* to remember, *urinaba* to remember with affection or sorrow.

All of these instances are thoroughly after the Melanesian style, and Verbs, Nouns, and Adjectives have the Verbal Suffix attached. The Adjectives are probably neuter Verbs.

(4) *Verbal Suffixes in the language of Rotuma.*

In the grammar of Rotuma ("Mel. Lang.," p. 406) Dr. Codrington says:—"The transitive suffix *ki* appears in the Verb *alaki* kill, from *ala* to die."

(5) *Verbal Suffixes in Maori.*

The Verbal Suffixes can be clearly seen in Maori and are found attached to Verbs, Nouns, and so-called Adjectives. They have never been recognised by the Maori grammarians, and Dr. Codrington ("Mel. Lang.," p. 181) says that there is no suffix to the Verb in Maori. But as will be seen from the examples appended here, certain Verbal Suffixes have similar functions in Maori and in the Melanesian languages, though the impression given by a general study of the words in Maori which show the presence of a Verbal Suffix is that they are not used with anything like the force and power which they have in Melanesia, that, in fact, they have ceased in the main to be "Transitive Suffixes," nor does their addition to a word necessarily mark it as a Verb. Both Mota and Sa'a afford examples of the addition of the Transitive Suffixes to the Verb without thereby conveying a definite Transitive force; Mota *vura* to spring forth, *vuras* to come forth, *vuratag* to spring forth forcibly; *goro* to pass over, of sound, *gorot* v.i. to strike, come to the ears; *tale* to go round; *tallay*, v.i. to turn; *qoro* to throw down something heavy, *qoron* to encounter anything severe. Sa'a *hure'i* to gush forth, Mota *vura* as above.

Examples: *mana* a branch, *manai* mouth (Fiji *mana* a mouth, c.f. Motu *haga* to gape, *hagai* to open the mouth, Lau *faga* mouth, Mota *wana* to gape, *wanai*, a gaping, *wanara* to branch, *wanarai* a branch); *taka* to fasten a fish hook, *takai* to wrap round; *uku* to wash with clay, *ukui* to rub; *horoi* to wash, (Tongan *holo* to wash, Samoan *solo solo* towel); *pao* to strike with a hammer, *paoui* to pound (c.f. Sa'a *horo* to kill, *horo'i* to hit); *inoi* to beg, pray (Samoan *inoi* to demand, Lau *ino* to beseech); *punui* adj. close together (Samoan *punupunu* a cluster of parasitical plants, Sa'a *hunu* a bunch); *whawha* to lay hold of, *whai* settled, possessing; *pu* to blow, *puki* to blow (Ulawa *'uhi*); *taka* to fall off, roll, *takahi* to trample; *aro* to face, *aro*hi to examine; *ara* a path, *arahi* to

lead. These last two examples are quite in the Melanesian style, (c.f. Ulawa *na'o* to face, *na'ohi* to lead, to direct); *tapa* to pulverise, *tapahi* to chop (Sa'a *tapa* to strike, *tapali* to cut off, reap); *hua* to raise with a lever, *huaki* to open, uncover, (Sa'a *hu'e* to lever *hu'esi* to open, Samoan *sua* to grub, Tahitian *huai* to uncover oven); *mata* eye, *mataki* to watch, *matai* to seek to obtain by artifice, (Mota *mata* eye, *matag* to watch); *kaha* a rope, *kahaki* a strap, a master, (Tongan *kafa* sinnet, *kafakafai* to bind); *ruaki* to vomit, (Mota *lulua* v.i. to vomit, *luag* v.t., Marquesas *ua*, *uaki*, Malay *luat* to loathe); *nunumi* to disappear behind, (Sa'a *nunu* shadow); *horo*, *horomi* to swallow, (Samoan *folo* to swallow); *hau* to hew, to chop, *haumi* to join, a joint; *tanu* to bury, *tanumi* to fold double, to disappear behind, (Samoan *tanuma'i* to cover up with, *tanu* to bury); *koro* a noose, *korori* adj. twisted, v. to stir round; *taro* adv. a little while, *tarori* to pass away quickly, (c.f. Sa'a *ha'atau* far off, *ha'atauli* to be far off); *hokai* adj. spread out, *hokari* to stretch out the legs, to move by stretching the legs, (Florida *roka* to be open, Sa'a *hoka* to come apart, *hokasi* v.t. to burst open); *kopa* adj. bent, *kopani* to shut to, a lid, *kopaki* to wrap; *kapi* to be covered, *kapiti* adj. enclosed; *apiapi* adj. close together, *apiti* to place side by side (Samoan *apiapi* narrow, Sa'a *apiepi* to be contiguous to, Malay *apit* side by side); *ho* to pout, *honi* to sniff, to rub noses (Tahitian *homi* to sniff, Mangareva *aka-hoho* to lick, c.f. Sa'a *nono* to sniff, *nono'i* to kiss); *po* night, *poniponi* adj. dim; *titoni* to peck (Hawaiian *kiko* to dot, Marquesas, Tahitian *tito* to peck, Mota *tit* to strike off flakes); *meatinia* the passive of *mea*, shows a compound Suffix made up of *ti* and *ni*; *rau* a leaf, *raupi* to cover over.

Remarks.—There can be no doubt that the Verbal Suffixes appear in Maori, since the above examples definitely prove their existence. The use of such words as *hokai*, *kapiti*, *punui*, as Adjectives, may easily find a parallel in Melanesia, Sa'a *pele* adv. by mischance, *pele'i* adv. by mischance, *pelena'ini* to do by mischance, *lae* to go, *laehi* v.t. to travel through, *laelae'i* adv. *ere laelae'i* wayside talk; *ahu* to be complete, *ahu'i* prep. with suffixed pronoun, around; and as will be seen below the Syllabic Suffixes are used in Sa'a to form Participles, which may be considered as Adjectives. Melanesia offers no parallel to the use of such a word as *kahaki* as a Noun (c.f. however *gapulut*, glue, in Mota, where the final *t* is the Verbal Suffix), but it is not difficult to see how its use as a Noun has come about. Many words in Maori classed as Adjectives, e.g. *apiapi*, are

evidently Verbs (c.f. Mota *vanameag* waste, useless, where *ag* is a Verbal Suffix); while a word like *taro* a little while, which is classed as an Adverb, seems rather to be a Verb, also *ha'atan* in Sa'a which has been instanced above is rather a Verb, *ha'a* the Causative and *tau*, verb, to be far off, and the conclusion may be drawn that the so-called Adverbs to which the Verbal Suffixes are attached are really Verbs (c.f. Mota, *ninaninag* adv. bumping up and down, *nina* to knock).

Both classes of the Suffixes are used in Melanesia to form Participles, or, as they may be considered, Adjectives, Sa'a *pele'i* (as above), *oro* to stoop, *oroma'i* bowed together, *luhe* to loose, *luheta'i* loosed, *mon* to be broken, *moute'i* only, single.

Maori seems to use more than one Suffix with the same Verb, e.g. *kopa*, *kopani*, *kopaki*; *mata*, *matai*, *mataki*; this may be paralleled by Ulawa, *siki* to come off, be detached, *sikili* to twang with the fingers, *sikihi* to undo, *lae* to go, *lachi* to go through, *laeli wala* to make an oration; Mota *sogo*, *sogon*, *sogov*; but as a rule in Melanesian each Verb is used with its own particular Suffix.

It will also be noticed that a common use of these Suffixes in Maori is to convey thereby a slightly different signification to the meaning of the Verb, e.g. *tapa* and *tapahi*, this may be paralleled by Mota *sala* to boil, *salag* to cook with hot stones, but the common Melanesian use of these Suffixes, viz., to make a neuter Verb definitely transitive, etc., is not so common in Maori, though *aro*, *aroahi* is an example of it.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that with the one exception of Verbs formed from Adjectives by the addition of the Verbal Suffixes (Sa'a *paine* big, *painesi* to be too big for) all the various characteristic uses of the Verbal Suffixes in Melanesia are found also in Maori, while in addition Maori has employed the Suffixes to form Nouns.

#### (6) Verbal Suffixes in Samoan.

The Samoan use with regard to the Consonantal Verbal Suffixes approximates very closely to the use of the same Suffixes in Melanesia. "In Samoan the termination *ta'i* or *sa'i* adds the sense of 'with' to the verb; *momo'e* to run, *mo'eta'i* to run with a thing; *'a'au* to swim, *'ausa'i* to swim with a thing." ("Mel. Lang.," p. 181.) But *ta'i* also conveys a particular transitive force, *lafi* to hide oneself, *lafita'i* to hide away, to conceal. In Sa'a we notice that the Syllabic Suffix also conveys the sense of "with," *huru* to run, *hurune'ini* to run with a thing; *olo* to swim, *olohi* to

swim for and get, *oloha'ini* to swim with and carry (c.f. Mota *tag. sag, vag*; Fiji *caka, taka*).

Examples.—*mua* first, *muai* to be first (Malay *mulamula* first, *mulai* to be first, also Mota *amoa* formerly *moai* to be first); *mamafa* weighty, honoured, *mamafi* to be honoured (c.f. “Mel. Lang.,” p. 415: Maewo *weda* to be heavy, *wedei* to be heavy upon; also p. 465. Sesake *mawora* broken, *mawori* to be broken); *afa* sinnet, *afaafai* to bind with sinnet; *nofo* to sit, *nofoi* to be in a sitting posture; *mana* branch, *manai* to sit astride; *tapu* to make sacred, *tapui* a sign of tapu, to prohibit by a tapu mark; *sapasapai* to take in the arms (Mota *sapan*, Sa'a 'apala); *pola* a plaited coconut leaf, *polani* to carry on a *pola*; *tusa* to be equal, *tusani* to divide equally; *lavalava* a loin cloth, *lavasi* to tie round and round; *motu* broken, *motusi* to break (Sa'a *mo'u* to be broken, *mo'usi* to break); *puluti* to pitch, to glue (Sa'a *pulu* pitch, *pulu'i* to pitch); *mata* eye, *matafi* to be swept away as clouds, to be open, clear; *poniponi* twilight, *poponi* to scowl, begin to be blind (Polynesian *po* night); *momo'e* to sleep, *mo'ega'i* to carry over night, i.e. to sleep with; *sili* adv. exceedingly, *silifa'i* to go beyond (Sa'a *sili* to enter, *silihe'i* to insert); *alo* to conceal, *alofa'i* to conceal; *punipuni* to shut in, *punita'i* to stop up with anything; *noga* to be quiet, *nogata'i* to desist; *tanu* to bury, *tanuma'i* to cover up with; *nofo* to sit, *nofoa'i* to sit and talk over news.

Verbs with the reciprocal prefix *fe* have *si*, *fi*, *ni*, *a'i*, *fa'i*, *ma'i*, *ta'i*, *na'i*, *va'i*, as Syllabic Suffixes, and *i*, *fi*, *ni*, *si*, as Consonantal Suffixes; *fe'ausi* to swim, *fetanofi* to take hold of; *feluani* to go two together; *fealofani* to love one another; *lata* to be near, *felata'i* to be near together; *felamata'i* to watch for one another (c.f. Ulawa *he'itotori*); *fetalia'i* to give answer (c.f. Sa'a *ala* v.i. to answer, *alami* to answer anyone, *he'ialama'i* to answer one another); *gagana* to speak, *fegaganara'i* to speak to one another; *utu* to draw water, *feutufa'i*.

The Noun Suffix *na* may be added to the Verb when used with either the Consonantal or the Syllabic Suffix, *nofo* to sit, *nofoa'i*, *nofoa'ina* a sitting; *afi* to do up in a bundle, *afisi* to carry under the arms, *afisina* an armful; but in Melanesia the Noun Suffix is attached only to the Consonantal Verbal Suffix, Sa'a *usu* to push, *usune'i* to send, *usune'ine* a commandment. But if Dr. Macdonald's example from Fate be correct, *na bulutian ni na suma* the plastering of the house, then the Samoan use has a perfect parallel in Melanesia.

Our conclusion is that all the various characteristic uses of the Verbal Suffixes in Melanesia, with the same exception noted in Maori, viz., Verbs formed from Adjectives by the addition of the Verbal Suffix, are found also in Samoan. In addition we note the use of the Consonantal Suffix with the reciprocal *fe* (seen also in Sa'a), and the Consonantal Suffix forming a Noun from a Verb, *tapui*, *poniponi*. This last use can be readily accounted for as in Maori by the word thus formed being used to describe both the action and also the name of the action.

(7) *Verbal Suffixes in Tongan, Tahitian, and Hawaiian.*

Tongan,

*holo* to wipe, *holoi* to wipe; *kafa* sinnet, *kafakafai* to wrap sinnet round anything; *huai* to turn up, *huahuai* to uncover (Samoan, *sua* to dig, etc.); *buaki* to vomit (Maori *pua* foaming); *mataki* to spy (Oceanic *mata* eye); *homi* to sniff (Maori *ho*, *honi*, as above); *anuhia* to spit on (Mota *anus*, Samoan *anusa*); *ala* to touch, *alafi* to feel after the hand. Mr. Ray, "Common origin of the Oceanic peoples," gives *aki* as a Verbal Suffix.

Tahitian,

*tapahi* to split breadfruit (Maori *tapa* to pulverise, *tapahi* to chop; Sa'a *tapa* to strike, *tapali* to cut off); *ruai* to vomit (Mota *lulua*, *luag*; Maori *ruaki*); *mataitai* to examine (Oceanic *mata* eye); *homi* to sniff (Maori *ho*, *honi*); *horomi* to swallow (Maori *horo*, *horomi*).

Hawaiian,

*puai* to spout (Maori *pua* foaming); *luai* to vomit; *huai* to open; *holoi* to wash; *kahai* to bind, girdle (Polynesian *kaha* sinnet); *kiko* a dot, *kikokikoi* irregularly; *honi* to smell; *iniki* to pinch (Oceanic *gini*, *'ini*).

(8) *Verbal Suffixes in Malay.*

*Minum* to drink (Sa'a *'inu*, *'inumi*; Nguna *munu*, *munugi*); *apit* to be side by side (Maori *apiapi*; Sa'a *apiepi*); *apit-kan* a press; *luat* to loathe; *ambusi* to puff out from the mouth (Mota *pupus* Pol. *pupuhi*); *mulamula* at first, *mulai* to be first; *susu* milk, *susui* to suckle; *panas* hot, *panasi* to heat; *penoh* full, *penohkan* to fill; *lapis* a fold, *lapiskan* to line; *tangis* to weep (*Po tani*).

Dr. Codrington ("Mel. Lang.," p. 181) says that the Verbal Suffixes are looked for in vain in Malay, and that they are not apparent in Tongan, and that he has no knowledge of their exist-

ence in Tahitian and Hawaiian. However, the above examples clearly show the presence of these Suffixes in all the four languages. But there can be no doubt that the Suffixes do not play the important part in these four languages which they play in Melanesia, or in Samoan.

(8) *Verbal Suffixes in the Solomon Island Languages.*

For the purpose of this Paper it will not be necessary to give instances of words showing the ordinary way in which the Verbal Suffixes are used in the Solomon Island languages; a full account of their use in Florida is given in "Melanesian Languages," and the present writer has done the same for Sa'a and Ulawa and Lau in his grammars of those languages.

No very satisfactory explanation can be given of the termination *ni* in the Syllabic Suffixes in Ulawa, Wango, Sa'a, Lau, Florida. Dr. Codrington ("Mel. Lang.," p. 532) speaking of its use in Florida with the Verbal Suffixes, calls it a Preposition and refers to the use of *ni* in Oba, where it is compounded with the Preposition *gi* (Polynesian *ki*). The Florida *ni* occurs also as an Instrumental, but in the Eastern Solomons in Sa'a, etc., *ni* is used only as a Genitive, the Instrumental being *ana* or *ani*. It is possible that the Instrumental *ani* may be formed from *nia* by metathesis, and that *nia* is compounded of *ni* prep. and *a* suffixed pronoun.

Lau and Wango use the Syllabic forms in an Active sense, i.e., a Pronoun is added as an anticipatory Object, without the necessity of adding *ni* to the Suffix; Lau *gorita'i* v.t. to receive; *gwouta'i* or *gwouta'ini* to incline the body; *oalana'i* to distribute; *fatolama'i* to command (Sa'a *ha'atolana'ini*); Wango *poota'i* to beseech. In Ulawa and Sa'a when *ni* is omitted after the Suffix the Verb has no transitive force, *kire ko kelite'i honotamu* they stand in a circle round you; *ta'e* to raise, *ta'cla'i* v.i. to set out, start, make a beginning; and when the Verb with Suffix is separated from its Object the *ni* is dropped and the Possessive is used as the Object instead of the Suffixed Pronoun; *kire ke su'uhe'i mano ada* they will completely destroy them; *mane 'o ha'apolaha'i saewasu ana mane i'oe* chasten not thy servant in thy displeasure.

In Ulawa, Wango, Sa'a and Lau, there is an adjectival or participial use of the Syllabic forms in *a'i* without *ni* added; Sa'a *honule'i* Wango *honura'i* full of; Sa'a *tekela'i*, Lau *tegela'i* lost, *tarau* continuously, straight on, *taraure'i* continuously. Also *ha'idenie'i* till daylight. Also in Lau the Syllabic forms without

*ni* are added to certain Verbs (active or neuter) without conferring a definite transitive force on them. 'eli to dig, *nia 'elia si 'ano* he dug the ground, *nia 'elifai kokoro* he dug deep; *oli* to return, come back, *olita'i* v.i. to return.

In Sa'a, Ulawa, Wango, there is a separation of the Syllabic Suffix *ta'i* (used with *ni* added) from the Verb; Wango *a nonia beia ai ta'e* huraa *wou i haka ta'inia i one* he asked him to thrust out the ship from the land; Sa'a *wai e mapipi ohe oto ta'inie kolune makana* whether the waters had receded from the surface of the land; Ulawa *ani noto nuuna te'inilemiu* in refraining yourselves. This Suffix *ta'i* thus used may be paralleled by the use of the separable Suffix *vag* in Mota, "Mel. Lang.," p. 281.

The Noun Suffix *na* may be attached in Sa'a and Ulawa to the Syllabic Suffix, *usuncine* commandment. The Noun Suffix *na* is not attached to the Consonantal Suffix, but always to the Verb itself, but where a Verb is made up of a Noun and a Verb used with a Consonantal Suffix the Noun Suffix is added to the Verb so formed, *sae unuhi* to grudge, *sae unuhine* a grudging spirit.

#### (9) Verbal Suffices in Melanesian New Guinea.

The following examples have been collected from Mr. Ray's work, "Expedition to Torres Straits," Vol. iii., p. 458:—

##### Roro.

The Verb takes a Suffix *na* or *ni* when directly governing the Pronoun; *ita* to see, *ne itana'u* he ses me; *na itanio* I see you, *hau na itana* men I see them.

##### Mekeo.

*Mikinale malele ipa-lononi-i ani* missionary teaches the men to read (*pa-lono* make hear).

##### Motu

*Haga* to gape, *hagai* to open the mouth, *laqa* to graze, *laqahi* to strike something in falling; *boi* to call, *boili* to call a person; *kanudi* to spit (Samoan *anu*); *rani* to be overtaken by daylight (Pol. *ra* day); *di* and *ni* are not quoted as Suffixes by Mr. Ray. *Noho* to stay, *nohori* to delay, *gugu* to clasp, *guguba* to hold tight, *gugubai* to squeeze; *gege* to surround, *hegededai* to go round; *lao* to go, *laohai* to go away with; *heagi* to boast, *heagilai* to praise; *vasi* to go near, *vasilai*, to take near; *abi* to take, *abilai* to take with; *matamata* new, *matamatai* to begin; *qaqa* a lump, *heqaqanai* to stunble; *dina* sun, day, *hedinarai* to confess.



Keapara and Hula.

*Ila* to speak, *ilagi* to speak to; *ao* to go, *aogai* to go with; *gegelagi* to surround (c.f. Motu *gege* to surround); *veamai* to bring, *veamaigi* to come with; *borogiagi* to be a substitute for (c.f. Motu *boloa* a substitute, *hebolo* to be a substitute).

Suau.

*Saha* what? *u sahaigu* what have you to do with me? *atai* to know about, *guiau vasana i ataiei* the chief his word he knew it.

Kiriwina.

*I saopa* he tell lies, *i saopaki* he deceives, *i suopakaigu* he deceives me; *iliki* he goes to him.

Wedau.

*Bawana* a bundle, *bawai* to carry in a bundle; *gudu* door, *gudui* to close a door; *riwa* to say, *riwei* to tell; *vipeuni* to drop something (*vi* Causative *peu* to drop); *qa* to be finished, *viqai* to finish; *kiala* to sit, *kialei* to sit on something; *galo* to be in soak, *vigaloi* to soak something; *viai* to be clean, *u ta viaini-u* you (may) clean me.

Tavara.

*koekoeama* false, *koame-hi* deceive them; *kuku* near, *lei-kukui* to make near; *hanapu* wise, *hanapugeni* to know.

Mukawa.

*waba* a name, *wabei* to name; *botu* to come, *botuvi* to bring; *tomatoma* drinking, *tomani* to drink something; *nagari-si* fear them, *kega ke nagara* do not fear; *wona* to say, *woni* to tell; *gaigaire* clean, *gaireni* to cleanse.

Remarks.—The above instances show the addition of the Verbal Suffix to Verbs, Nouns, and Adjectives, but no instance is given of the Suffix added to an Adverb. In Suau the Suffix is attached to *saha* what? but as shown by Dr. Codrington ("Mel. Lang.," p. 134), this Pronoun common to the Oceanic Languages *saha*, *sa*, *sava*, *taha*, is a Noun.

(10) Other Suffixes to Verbs.

*Ta*; Motu *mahuta* to sleep (Sa'a *ma'ahu*); Samoan *faufili* a cord to fasten a bundle, *faufilita* to come back empty using the *faufili* to beat off the flies; *mafuta* to be aroused from sleep; *'apata* to clap

the wings (Sa'a *apa* wing); Maori *kapekapeta* to flutter (Sa'a *hiuhiu kape* to flutter, a wagtail, c.f. Maori *kapakapa*, Mota *lapa-lapa* to flutter).

Possibly *ta* in the above instances is the same as *ta* the adjectival Suffix.

*Na*; Sa'a *loloku* to be bent, *lokuna* v.t. to bend; *qao* to do, *qaona* to appoint; *duu* to move v.i. *duune* to move a thing up; *ata* to move, *atana* to move a thing slightly; Motu *pisili* spray, *pipisina* to splash (Samoan *pisi* to splash, Sa'a *qisi* v.i. to splash, *qisili* v.t.); Mota *tiana* to be pregnant, *tia* belly.

*Na*; Samoan *anusa* to spit (Mota *anu-s* spittle); *po* night, *ponisa* to be dark; *ranu* water, *ranusa* to bale water (see "Mel. Lang.," p. 181.) Mota *maru* to sink, subside, *marusa* to subside.

*Va*; Samoan *musumusu* to whisper, *musura* to whisper together.

*La*; Samoan *ua* rain, *uala* to be rainy with sunshine; Sa'a '*apala* to carry in the arms, '*apa'apa* wing, shoulder; Mota *sapan* Samoan *sa'pasapai* to carry in the arms, probably show *sapa* with a Verbal Suffix. Dr. Codrington connects *sapan* with *pane'i* hand. Mota *wanara* branch, may show *ra* as a Verbal Suffix, *wana* to open the mouth.

*Na*; Samoan *to'ana* to settle down, to frequent, *to'a* to settle; Maori *kapu* to close the hand, *kapuna* to take up with both hands. In these two instances the Suffix *na* is probably the Noun Suffix.

*Rana*; Maori *pu* a heap, *purana* to heap up; *hua* to raise with a lever, *huarana* to transplant; *kapu* to close the hand, *kapurana* to take up by handfuls (Marquesas *kapu* hand). This termination *rana* is probably the gerundival Suffix.

In some of the Oceanic languages *a* is used as a Verbal Suffix:—Samoan *tane* man, *tanea* having to do with men; *lele* to fly, *lelea* to be carried off by the wind; *sili* exceedingly, *silia* to let pass; *lai* the westerly wind, *laia* to be blighted by the westerly wind; Motu *lokua* to be folded (Sa'a *loloku* bent). This termination *a* is probably the same as the adjectival Suffix *a* (see below under Table IV.), Niue *niu* coconut, *niue* possessing coconuts; Sa'a *niuniu'e* tasting of coconuts. The Suffix *la* in Samoan *uala* is also probably the same as the adjectival Suffix *la*, Sa'a '*usu* dog, '*usule* possessing dogs.

## TABLE II.

### Noun Suffixes.

Dr. Codrington, in "Melanesian Languages," give no Table of Noun Suffixes. The Melanesian examples in this Table have been

compiled from the various grammars in Dr. Codrington's book; the Sa'a and Ulawa lists have been amplified; the Malagasy examples are from Richardson's "Malagasy Grammar"; the Melanesian New Guinea have been copied from "Torres Straits Expedition," Vol. iii.

		Abstract Nouns.		Independent Nouns.	
		(1) with <i>n</i>	(2) without <i>n</i>	(1) with <i>n</i>	(2) without <i>n</i>
(a) Loyalty Islands.					
Nengone	-	-	-	<i>ne</i>	-
(b) New Hebrides.					
Anaiteum	-	-	-	<i>n</i>	-
Nguna	-	<i>ana</i>	-	<i>na</i>	-
Sesake	-	<i>na</i>	-	-	-
Epi	-	<i>ena</i>	-	-	-
Fate	-	<i>ana, ena, an, en</i>	-	-	-
Santo	-	-	<i>a</i>	-	-
Araga	-	<i>ana</i>	-	-	-
Oba	-	<i>ana</i>	-	-	<i>i</i>
Maewo	-	<i>ana, na</i>	<i>a</i>	-	<i>i, iu, ui, gi</i>
(c) Banks' Islands.					
Merlav	-	<i>ne</i>	<i>a, ia, va</i>	-	<i>i, gi</i>
Lakona	-	-	<i>e, g</i>	-	<i>n gi</i>
Gog	-	-	<i>g, i</i>	-	<i>n</i>
Vanua Lava	-	-	<i>a, e, ea, g, r</i>	-	<i>gi</i>
Mota	-	-	<i>a, ia, ga, ra, va</i>	-	<i>i, iu, ui, ei</i>
-	-	-	<i>(ta, i, s)</i>	-	-
Motalava	-	-	<i>e, r, g, v</i>	-	<i>n, ne ge</i>
Torres'	-	-	<i>i, r, ve</i>	-	-
Islands	-	-	-	-	-
(d) Fiji.					
-	-	-	-	<i>na</i>	-
(e) Maori.					
-	(a)	<i>na</i>	-	-	-
-	(β)	Gerundives,	<i>na, a, ha, i</i>	-	<i>na</i>
		<i>ana, kana, rana,</i>			
		<i>tana</i>			
(f) Samoan.					
-	(a)	<i>na</i>	-	-	-
-	(β)	Gerundives,	<i>na, a, laa, ta</i>	-	<i>ne</i>
		<i>ana, lana, mana</i>			
		<i>tana, sana</i>			

Abstract Nouns.		Independent Nouns.	
(1) with <i>n</i>	(2) without <i>n</i>	(1) with <i>n</i>	(2) without <i>n</i>
(g) Malagasy.			
- <i>ana, na</i>	- <i>tra, ka</i>	- <i>na</i>	-
(h) Malay.			
- <i>n, an</i>	- <i>k, t, r, s</i>	- <i>na</i>	-
(i) Tongan.			
- (For Gerundives see	- <i>a</i>	- <i>na</i>	-
Samoan)			
(j) Rotuma.			
- <i>na, in, un</i>	-	-	-
(k) Solomon Islands.			
Fagani	- <i>na</i>	- <i>fa</i>	-
Wango	- <i>na</i>	- <i>a, ha</i>	- <i>na</i>
Ulaw	- ( <i>a</i> ) <i>na</i>	- <i>ha, ia, ta</i>	- <i>na</i>
-	-	- ( <i>β</i> ) <i>la-, le-, ta-</i>	-
Sa'a	- ( <i>c</i> ) <i>na</i>	- <i>a, ha, la, ta,</i>	- <i>na</i>
-	-	- ( <i>β</i> ) <i>la-, le-, ta-</i>	-
Lau	- ( <i>l</i> ) <i>na</i>	- <i>a, fa, la, ta</i>	- <i>na</i>
Florida	-	- <i>a</i>	- <i>na, ni</i>
Bugotu	-	- <i>a</i>	- <i>na, ni</i>
Savo	-	-	- <i>ga</i>
(l) Melanesian New Guinea.			
Motu	- <i>na</i>	-	- <i>na</i> - <i>a</i>
Panaieti	- <i>na</i>	-	- <i>n</i> -
Wedau	- <i>na</i>	- <i>ra, va</i>	- <i>na</i> - <i>i</i>
Dobu	-	-	- <i>na</i> -

## NOTES, ETC., ON TABLE II.

"In the Melanesian languages there are two classes of Verbal Substantives, those which may be called Gerundives, which are rather more Verbal than Nominal, and others which are more properly Abstract Nouns. The first class are such words as 'thinking,' the second such words as 'thought.' Melanesian languages do not generally appear to have both kinds of Verbal Substantives together. Polynesian languages do not appear to have the second class at all." ("Mel. Lang.," p. 138.) Dr. Codrington instances

only Fagani and Merlav as having both classes, but Maewo will be seen to possess both, and three Solomon Island languages in the Table besides Fagani have both, and Maori and Samoan have both; c.f. *infra*. Wedau also has both forms. The first class of these Noun Suffixes, the gerundival, has *n* as a constant letter, in the second class *n* does not appear.

In the Melanesian languages the form of the Gerundive is not always the same, as the Polynesian has the termination *nga* (*na*). *Mate* is commonly "to die," but *matea* in Florida is "dying." *Galea* in Mota may mean either deceit or being deceived, *na galeana* what deceived him. In Fiji *mate* without change is "to die," and "death" as it is in Maori. But when the Maori uses *hemo* for "to die," "death" is *hemona* dying. ("Mel. Lang.," p. 138.)

The Suffixes *la*, *le*, *ta*, *ha*, are used in Sa'a and Ulawa with the Personal Pronoun always suffixed to form Gerundives; with neuter Verbs *ni* or *i* is always added; *horo* to kill, *horo'i* to kill anyone, *horo'ilana* his being killed. The sense of the Gerundive in Ulawa and Sa'a is either Active or Passive, *tohulana* the chopping of it, its being chopped; Ulawa *ha'auritaku* my being saved, *a ha'auritaku* my saviour. In Ulawa *na* with the suffixed Pronoun may be used as a Gerundive; *lae* to go, *laena* a going, *laenana* his going. With the Maori Gerundive the action may be either Active or Passive.

In Florida Verbal Substantives are formed by suffixing *a* to Active Verbs, and the sense of these, which may be called Gerundives, is often Passive. *Bosa* to speak is also a Noun, and *bosagu* is my speaking; but *bosaagu* is my being spoken to. In Ysabel it is the same, *gotigotihî* to break in pieces, *na gotigotihîadia* their being broken in pieces. ("Mel. Lang.," p. 524, 139.)

The Ulawa word *wala'ana* speech, needs a little explanation. Dr. Codrington ("Mel. Lang.," p. 138) gives *wala'ana* as an instance of *ana* used as a Noun Suffix, but no other such instance occurs in Ulawa, and the Verb is *wala* or *wala'a* to speak; *ha'i wala* a word, *walana* his word, *kira ahuni wala* they took counsel together, *wala odoodo* to repudiate in speech, *'o si'e walawala'a* do not speak. A form *walani* also occurs meaning to effect a magical charm by means of words. The second form of the Verb, *wala'a*, may possibly be made up of *wala*, and *'a* the adjectival Suffix, and accordingly *wala'a* would mean dealing in words, wordy. This Suffix *'a* is added to certain Verbs in Ulawa and Sa'a to form Nouns; *usi* to barter, *usi'e* market; *kalite'i* to encircle, *ro kalite'i'a* double strands. With *wala'ana* may be compared *roro'ana* debt.

which is formed from the Verb *roro'a* to be liable, and this again is formed from *roro* to tie tightly and *'a* the adjectival Suffix. A Noun *walana* appears in Sa'a in compounds, *nu tale'i sulu walana* mere verbose repetitions.

In Ulawa and Sa'a certain words show the Noun Suffixes *ta*, *ha*, but are used only with the suffixed Pronoun or with the Possessive attached; *hono* to close, *honotana* against, to meet, him; *walahada* their word; *i lado'ihaana* in a straight line with; in the last example *'i* the Verbal Suffix has been added; *painahaana* its bigness. This points to *ta* and *ha* having a gerundival force in these words. In *ua'unekume* a seat (*naku* to sit), *me* (*ma*) appears to be a Noun Suffix.

In both Samoan and Maori Noun Suffixes of the second class are found; Samoan *fua* fruit, *fuata* crop, as well as *fuana*; *tau* to fight, *tana* war, *tauna* a fighting; *taula* an anchor, *tau* to anchor; *tee* to prop up, *teela* a boom; *mafuta* dwelling together, may show the Suffix *ta* (c.f. Motu *mahuta* to sleep, Sa'a *ma'ahu*), *nofo* to sit, *nofoa* a seat.

Maori: *puaha* the mouth of a river, *puaki* to come forth (Samoan *pua* the mouth of a fish trap); *kareha* the day after to-morrow, the day before yesterday, may possibly be composed of *kare* and *ha* (c.f. Mota *risa*, Florida *valiha*, Samoan *alivu* long ago, Ulawa *wali* long ago, *walita* day after to-morrow); *tatau* to assault, *taua* war party; *ahu* to heap up, *ahua* form, appearance (for *ahu* as "to tend," "to heap up," "to be mature," c.f. Sa'a *ahu* to be perfect, *ahu'i* to surround, protect, *ahui ola* a parcel); *kagu* to put on, surface, garment, *kahua* form, appearance; *kafui* herd, Samoan *lafu* herd.

Mota appears to have other Noun Suffixes besides those given by Dr. Codrington; *lumuta* moss. Sa'a *lumu* and *lumute*; *anus* spittle, Motu *kanudi*, Samoan *anu*; *puasa* lizard, *vua* crocodile, Sa'a *huasa* crocodile, Samoan *puaa* animal; *kurut* dog, Sa'a *'usu*, Maori *kuri*, Malagasy *alika*.

It is unnecessary to give here instances of the use of the Noun Suffixes in Melanesia, they may all be found in "Melanesian Languages."

#### *Noun Suffixes in Melanesian New Guinea.*

##### Motu,

*doko* to finish, *dokona* the end; *ranu* water, *ranuna* juice; *bero* to wound, *berona* a wound.

##### Panaieti,

*rohu* to condemn, *rohuna* condemnation.

Wedau.

*am* to eat, *amna* the eating; *bawai* to carry in a bundle, *bawana* a bundle. In Wedau *na* is added to the root of a transitive Verb, i.e. to the Verb without the transitive ending; *babani* to talk, *babana* the subject discussed. Noun endings of the second class without *n* are seen in Wedau, *tigura* a thorn, *tiguri* to pick out with a thorn; *utuva* a flood, *utuvu* to water; *iuvva* fruit, *uweu* to bear fruit. ("Expedition to Torres Straits," Vol. iii. p. 440.)

Noun Suffixes in Malagasy.

*Vono* to kill, *vonoana* murder; *ravina* leaf (Mota *nau*, Polynesian *rau*, Malay *daun*); *hatsara* good, *hatsarana* goodness; *havitra* fish hook (Malay *kawit*, New Guinea *gahu*, Mota *gau*); *loaka* aperture (Polynesian *lua*, *rua* hole), *bono* to cover, *bonoka* a covering.

Noun Suffixes in Malay.

*Daun* a leaf (Motlav *ron*, Fiji *drau*, Maori *rau*); *ujan* rain (Lau *usa*, Maori *ua*); *ikan* a fish (Pol. *ika*); *kumis* mustache (Mota *wunui* Maori *kumikumi*); *arus* current (Mota *aru*); *mataku* to fear, *pankutan* fear; *tidor* to sleep, *partidoran* sleep; *kata* to speak, *parkataan* speech; *lumut* moss (Maori *lumulumu*); *laut* sea shore (Mota *lau*); *kawit* fish hook; *sinar* ray of light (Melanesian *sina* to shine).

Remarks.—The terminations shown above in Malagasy and Malay show definitely the connection between them and the other Oceanic languages given in the Table, but it can hardly be said that these two languages use the Noun Suffixes as freely as the Melanesian languages use both classes of the Suffix, or the Polynesian the first class.

Tongan appears to have a form in *a*; *huhu* breast, *huhua* milk.

The Gerundives in Maori.

The Verbal Substantives in Maori denote the taking place of an action, the place of the action, the time of its taking place. The action may be either Passive or Active. ("Mel. Lang.," p. 138.) However, *na* is suffixed in Maori to form Abstract Nouns, just as it is in Melanesia; *kawe* to carry, *kawena* a burden (c.f. Sa'a *tola* to carry, *tolana* a burden); *ako* to learn, *akona* a learner; *keokeo* peaked, *keokeona* a peak; *rahi* big, *rahina* bigness (Sa'a *paine* big, *pianana* size); *koi* sharp, *koina* point, edge; *tika*

straight, *tikana* rule, plan (Sa'a *odo* straight, *odoodona* straightness), *rite* like, *ritena* likeness. In the same way *ana* and *tana* form Noun Substantives; *noho* to sit, *nohoana* a seat; *kawiti* to taper, *kawititana* the wrist; *hua* to bear fruit, *huhuatana* excellence; also imported words *kinitana* dominion; *kawenatana* government; *kapu*, to close the hand, makes both *kapuna* palm of the hand, and *kapurana* handful, and each of these words serves either as a Noun or a Verb. Still it is plain that the suffixing of *na* conveys even in these examples in Maori more of the idea of a Gerundive than of an ordinary Abstract Noun.

The Gerundives in Maori are composed of the Noun Suffix *na* by itself, or of the Suffix *ana*, either by itself or with *h*, *k*, *m*, *r*, *t*, *ἐφελκυστικόν*, where the Consonant in each case is the same as the Consonant of the Verbal Suffix. When the Passive is formed by adding *ia* to the root Verb then *ana* is suffixed to the root Verb to form the Gerundive; *ko* to plant, *koia* planted, *koana* sowing time. The Suffix *aia* itself does not occur as a Noun Suffix anywhere, but *ana* occurs frequently, and there is no radical difference in form between *ana* and *ana*, or between *ua* and *na*, since *n* is only nasalized *n*.

It seems to be evident that the gerundival forms with the Consonant *ἐφελκυστικόν* are composed of two parts, and since the initial Consonant is the same as the Consonant of the Verbal Suffix it would seem that the construction of these particular forms of the Gerundive is either this Consonant and *ana* (in which case the Consonant alone would be considered to be the real Verbal Suffix), or the Verbal Suffix and *na*, the *i* of the Verbal Suffix being changed to *a* for the sake of euphony, i.e., *tana* for *tina*, etc. Thus in Sa'a *e* gives place to *a* before *na* and *ta* for the sake of euphony; *nike* mother, *nikana* his mother; *hune* to anchor, *hunata* an anchor. If it be considered that *ana* is added to the Consonant of the Verbal Suffix in order to form the Gerundive, then it might be considered that *ana* itself is probably a compound Noun Suffix, being made up of *a* and *na*, which both appear as Noun Suffixes. Ulawa furnishes instances of the use of compound Noun Suffixes; *alida* to travel by sea, *alidana* also *alidanaha* a sea journey; *kae* to deceive, *kaena* also *kaenaha* deceit; *raqa* to deceive, *raqatana*, guile.

#### *Gerundives in Samoan.*

In Samoan *na* is used as a Noun Suffix forming Abstract Nouns to a greater extent than in Maori; *tuli* to drive, *tulina* driving;



*malolo* to rest, *malolona* a resting place (Sa'a *mamalo* to rest, *mamalona* a rest, *mamaloha* a resting place); *tau* to fight, *tauna* a fight, *feana'i* to correspond, *feana'ina* a relationship; *poloa'i* to command, *poloa'ina* a commandment; *ulu* to make double, *uluna* a pair; *tanu* to bury, *taununa* a burial. The other gerundival Suffixes are also used to form Abstract Nouns; *luluu* to fill the hand, *luutana* a handful; *onu* to spit, *anusana* spittle; *inu* to drink, *inumana* a drink; *ola* to save, *olaana* life time, *olatana* a means of deliverance; *lele* to fly, *lelea* to be driven away by wind, *leleana* a party driven off by a strong wind; *tau* to anchor, *taulana* a harbour. The second class of Noun Suffixes in Melanesia furnishes examples of such secondary usages; *la*, *le*, *ta*, *ha*, in Sa'a and Ulawa when used with the suffixed Pronoun or the Possessive have a more or less gerundival force (see above); *saanau* a young man, *saanauheku* my youth; *tono* to drink, *tonohana* a *Kalita'alu* the drinking (place) of *Kalita'alu*. In these two languages when it is desired to form Abstract Nouns from Verbs to which these gerundival endings may be added the Noun Suffix *na* is used and not one of these gerundival Suffixes; thus *tono* to drink, *tonona* drinking, and not *tonoha*.

Remarks.—It may be concluded then from the Samoan use that the gerundival ending *na* in Samoan and in Maori is the same as the *na* which appears in Melanesia as a Noun Suffix. And since in Samoan the Gerundives (with the exception of *na* and *ana*), employ the Consonant of the Verbal Suffix, whether that Suffix is attached by itself to the Verb, or only appears with the addition of *a* as forming the Passive of the Verb (*takahi* to trample, *takahana* the trampling; *huaki* to open, rush on, *huakana* the rushing on; *naromia* to be destroyed, *naromana* the destroying) the conclusion may therefore be drawn that the Gerundive in Samoan as well as in Maori is compounded of Verbal Suffix and Noun Suffix or Suffixes, and that either the Vowel of the Verbal Suffix is changed to *a* for euphonic reasons, or that with the elision of the Vowel *i* of the Verbal Suffix the Gerundive is made up of the Consonant of the Suffix, and *ana* a variant of *na* and possibly itself a compound of the two Noun Suffixes *a* and *na*, the two classes of the Noun Suffix thus combining to form the special gerundival Suffix.

#### *Independent Nouns.*

“Independent Nouns are formed by adding the terminations *i* or *gi*, *iu* or *ui*, or *n* to the stem word—there is only one class of words which receives this generalising termination—Nouns

which signify parts of a whole, members of a body; things which can stand in a certain relation to some inclusive whole." ("Mel. Lang.," p. 141.) Nouns with these terminations are found in the vocabularies of the Banks' Islands' and New Hebrides' languages for "belly," "body," "bone," "child," "ear," "egg," "face."

Dr. Codrington states that these terminations are not found in the Polynesian languages, or in Fiji. This statement is undoubtedly correct in regard to the greater number of the Nouns or subdivisions of the class of Nouns which he instances, but it will be found that a great number of the Oceanic languages which do not otherwise show any trace of these terminations, yet have terminations in *n* or *na* in Nouns signifying membership of a body, or relationship, e.g., father, mother, brother (but not including child, husband, wife).

It is almost impossible for one accustomed to the practice of the Melanesian languages to believe that the Maori word *taina* brother does not really mean "his brother," and so also with *tupuna* ancestor, which means in Mota "his ancestor," but comparison with Nengone *tenene* child, where *tene* is the stem, and with Anaiteum *netgan* belly, *nohun* body, *naklin* egg, Motlav *nten* child, *tlen* egg, shows that the final *na* in *taina* is a Noun termination, and not the Suffixed Pronoun. In the Banks' and New Hebrides' languages this Noun termination is dropped when the Pronoun is suffixed, Mota *natui* son, *natuna* his son, Nengone *tenene* child, *tenego* my child; but since the Polynesian languages do not suffix the Pronoun to the Noun, the *na* or *ne* of the Independent Noun form remains constant. Ordinarily in Ulawa and Sa'a the words expressing relationship have no particular termination as such, but when certain Prefixes are used to mark reciprocity of relationship or of kinship, *ma*, *ma*, *ha'i*, *he'i*, the Noun to which they are affixed always has the termination *na* or *ne*; *nike* wife, *ro ha'i nikana* a man's wife and child; *mu he'i malahune* friends; *uweli* (Vocative only) a boy's uncle, a man's nephew, (sister's child) *ro ma uweline* uncle and nephew; *ro ma 'asine* brothers, *mu ma 'asine* brethren; *ro ma hunaona* father- and son-in-law; *ro ha'i ma'amana* father and son. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the termination *na* seen in these Sa'a words is identical with the *na* seen as a termination of the words expressing relationship in other Oceanic languages. In Sa'a and Ulawa all the words expressing kinship (and the word for "friend" also), except those for "wife," "husband," "father" (when in the Vocative), "child," are never used

without a suffixed Pronoun, i.e., there is no way of saying "brother," "sister," "friend," etc., without saying "my brother," etc. This peculiarity of speech seems to suggest that originally certain Nouns expressing kinship or relationship had a definite termination as such in these two languages as they have in Polynesia; and the refusal of the two peoples to use these words except with a suffixed Pronoun may mark a consciousness of the loss of the termination.

In Mota "a brother," "the brother," is rendered *o tasiu*, in Maori *te teina*, in Sa'a *a ma 'asine*, in Ulawa *a 'ulaka'elu* (*ka'elu* meaning "our"). This termination *na* is seen extensively in the Oceanic languages in words denoting relationship:—Maori *tupuna* ancestor (Mota *tupu'i*); *teina* younger brother (Mota *tasiu*); *tuakana* elder brother; Samoan *teine* girl; Niue *hoana* friend (Maori *hoa*, Mota *soai*); Fiji *tinana*, Motu *sinana*, Samoan *tina*, Malay *inana*, mother; Fiji *tamana* father (Mota *tamana* his father), *tukana* grandfather; *lomana* heart, may be an instance of *na* as a Suffix; *suina* bone certainly shows *na* as a Suffix (Mota *suriu*, Sa'a *su'isuli*).

Melanesian New Guinea shows *i*, *a*, *na* as Suffixes forming Independent Nouns. Wedau; *natui* son; *amana* father. Dobu; *nimana* hand; *luluna* bone. Panaieti; *matan* eye; *niman* hand; *maninin* face. Motu; *tamana* father; *tadina* brother; *kakana* elder brother; *turia* bone (Oceanic *suli*); the word for "hand" in Malagasy *tanana* seems to show *na* as a Suffix of this nature; c.f. also Malay *tanan* hand (Polynesian *tano* to touch). In Sa'a, Ulawa, San Cristoval, Samoa, *na* is added to Cardinals to form Ordinals, *ni* is thus used in Florada, and *iu*, *i*, in Mota, and the word so formed is a Noun; hence it is probable that these endings *na*, *ni*, *iu*, *i*, are identical with the terminations of the Independent Nouns.

TABLE III.

Passive Suffixes.

	(1) with <i>n</i>	(2) without <i>n</i>
(a) Florida	-	- <i>a</i> (?)
(b) Bugotu	-	- <i>a</i> (?)
(c) Fiji	-	- <i>i</i> (?)
(d) Maori	- <i>na, ina, rina, whina</i>	- <i>a, ia, hia, kia, mia, nia, ria, tia</i>
(e) Samoan	- <i>na, ina, a'ina</i>	- <i>a, ia, fia, lia, mia, nia, sia, tia</i>
(f) Gilbert Is.	- <i>kina</i>	-
(g) Malagasy	- <i>na, ana, ena, ina</i>	-

## TABLE IV.

*Adjectival Suffixes.*

For the foundation of this Table see "Mel. Lang," p. 167, Torres Straits' Expedition, Vol. III., p. 453.

## (a) New Hebrides.

	(1) with <i>n</i>	(2) without <i>n</i>
Sesake - -	-	<i>a</i>
Nguna - -	-	<i>ga</i>
Araga - -	-	<i>ga</i>
Oba - -	-	<i>ga, gi</i>
Maewo - -	-	<i>ga, gi</i>

## (b) Banks' Islands.

Lakona - -	-	<i>g</i>
Vanua Lava - -	-	<i>g, r</i>
Mota - - <i>n, na</i>	-	<i>a, ga, ra, sa, ta</i>
Motalava - -	-	<i>g</i>
Volow - -	-	<i>g</i>
Ureparapara - -	-	<i>a, ra</i>

## (c) Fiji.

-	-	<i>a, li, tu</i>
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## (d) Samoa.

-	-	<i>a, la, sa</i>
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## (e) Tongan.

-	-	<i>a</i>
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## (f) Malagasy.

-	<i>na, ana, ena, ina</i>	-
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## (g) Solomon Islands.

Ulawa - -	-	<i>'a, 'ala, la, ta'a</i>
Sa'a - -	-	<i>'a, 'a'a, 'ala, la, le, ta'a</i>
Lau - -	-	<i>a, laa</i>
Fagani - -	-	<i>ga</i>
Wango - -	-	<i>'a</i>
Vaturanga - -	-	<i>ha</i>
Florida - -	-	<i>ga</i>
Savo - -	-	<i>sua</i>
Duke of York - <i>ina</i>	-	-
New Britain - <i>ina</i>	-	-
Gilbert Islands - <i>ina</i>	-	-

(h) Melanesian New Guinea. (See "Torres Straits' Expedition."  
Vol. III., p. 454).

	(1) With <i>a</i> .	(2) Without <i>a</i> .
Motu	- -	- <i>ka, ga, ta, va, a</i>
Kabadi	- -	- <i>va</i>
Wedau	- -	- <i>ra</i>
Dobu	- - <i>na, ina</i>	-
	(i) Malay.	
	- <i>an</i>	-

# NOTES, ETC., ON TABLES III. AND IV.

The two instances of Passives in Melanesia in the languages of Florida and Bugotu have been referred to above under Table ii., Noun Suffixes. Dr. Codrington states that the *a* in these two instances being attached to the Verb conveys a sense which is Passive. It will be noticed in these two instances that the Suffix *a* which is used could not be the Suffixed Pronoun since the Pronoun is added to it, and the adding of the Pronoun proves that the word so formed is a Noun, since the Pronouns *gu, mu, na*, etc., are attached only to Nouns, and in consequence this *a* must be a Noun Suffix. Its use then in Florida and Bugotu may be compared with the use of the Noun Suffixes *la, ta* in Sa'a and Ulawa, which also are used with a gerundival force, and we should thus conclude that there is no real example of Passive Suffixes in Melanesia.

Dr. Codrington ("Mel. Lang.," p. 192), suggests that the Maori Passive may have arisen from an impersonal use of the Verb after the style of the following sentence in Mota; *me taur veta o ima* built already the house, the house is built. There is no passive in Melanesia as such and the nearest approach to it is in such impersonal uses of the Verb. Mr. Ray, "Common Origin of the Oceanic Languages," considers that the Passive in Polynesian is built up of the Verbal Suffix and *a*, and he considers this *a* to be the Suffixed Pronoun, but he gives no reason why the Pronoun should be suffixed in the third Person Singular only, nor why this special Melanesian characteristic of suffixing the Pronoun should thus occur in Polynesia. As he says words like *punitia* and *tavisia* in Samoan have a decidedly Melanesian look, but in no Polynesian language is the Personal Pronoun suffixed to the Verb, and this fact alone would seem to vitiate Mr. Ray's theory as to the nature of the termination *a* of the Polynesian Passive. Dr. Codrington is probably correct in his theory of the Passive arising from an

impersonal use of the Verb, but he propounds no theory to account for the endings of these Passive Suffixes, though he calls attention to the similarity between the first part of them and the Verbal Suffixes, and Mr. Ray's theory fails to account for the Passive Suffixes which contain *n*.

It will be noticed in Table iv. that the adjectival Suffixes in Malagasy are the same as the Passive Suffixes. Richardson ("Malagasy Grammar") says that "the place of English Adjectives in *able*, *ible*, is supplied in Malagasy by Passive Verbs preceded by *azo*, e.g., *azo hanina* eatable, *tsy azo resena* invincible." In the Dictionary *hanina* appears as a Noun, but the presence of *gana*, *'ani*, in Oceanic languages, meaning "to eat," suggests that *hanina* is made up of *hani* v. and *na* Suffix, and *resena* is an Adjective formed from *rese* v. The use of the Passives in Malagasy *na*, *ana*, *ena*, *ina*, is plain enough, but while Dr. Codrington says that there is no sign of special forms in Malagasy for adjectival endings Richardson in his "Grammar" in a Table of Adjectives says that they are "formed from the root of the word with the affix *ina*, *ena*, *ana*," and he instances *nofo* flesh, *nofosana* fleshy. To this may be added *vory* froth, *vorena* frothy; *vaoka* whiskers, *vaohina* whiskered; *somotra* beard, *somorina* bearded; *olitra* a worm, *olerina* wormy; *ozatra* muscle, *ozatina* muscular; *volo* hair, *voloina* hairy. Many of the so-called Adjectives in Malagasy are evidently Neuter Verbs, while others are Participles, e.g. *fotsiana* whitened (*fotsy* white), is evidently a Participle. From the above example the connection seems established between the Passive and the adjectival (or participial) terminations in Malagasy.

Polynesia has no adjectival endings of the first class containing *n*, but Micronesia has Gilbert Islands *mama* moonlight, *mamaina* white (Mota *vula* (1) moon, (2) white), and Melanesia shows four; Mota *waicana* wide, oba *waica* open sea (Sa'a *matawa* open sea, Malag. *fafana*, M.L. p. 189, c.f. Malag. *masina* salt, Fij. *masima*); Mota *malea* tasteless, *malean* brackish, Duke of York *ina*; ruma house, *rumaina* containing houses; Dobu *na*; *werabana* witch, *werabanina* witch-like; *barau* sorcerer, *barabarauna* sorcerer-like; *bila* to rot, *bilabilina* rotten; *muta* to mould, *mutamutana* mouldy; *'edagi* to laugh, *'eda'edagina* having the quality of laughter; *siwa* to pour out, *siwasiwana* poured out; *'etune* to send, *'etu'etunena* the sent. New Britain *ina*; *kaban* lime, *kabanina* white. Malay shows *an* used in the same way; *pileh* to choose, *pilehkan* v.t. *pilehan* chosen; *bantah* to con-

tradict, *bantahan* quarrelsome; *durian* a thorny fruit, *duri* a thorn, *rambutan* a hairy fruit, *rambut* hair, probably shown *an* as an adjectival ending. In Tagalog *an* appears as an adjectival Suffix equivalent to *-able* in English, *lapit* idea of approaching, *di malapitan* unapproachable.

From the evidence of the endings in Malagasy and from the use of *an* in Malay and *na* in Melanesia as adjectival endings it may safely be concluded that the termination *na* of the Passive Suffixes in Polynesia is identical with the termination *na* of the adjectival Suffixes seen above.

The use of the adjectival Suffix *a* in Samoan and Melanesian justifies the conclusion that the Passive Suffix *a* is the same as the adjectival Suffix *a*. Samoan shows *a* and *sa* as adjectival Suffixes; *elele* dirt, *elelea* dirty; *naoa* also *naosa* stony; Tongan *maka* stone, *makaia* stony; Motu *lokua* folded (Sa'a *loloku* to be bent). The Suffix *a* is used with an adjectival force in the following Samoan words: *Tane* man, *tanea* having to do with men; full of men; *lele* to fly, *lelea* to be carried off by the wind; *lai* the westerly wind, *laia* to be blighted by the westerly wind. In Sa'a and Ulawa the adjectival Suffix when added to Verbs conveys a sense which might really be said to be Passive; *rere* to sharpen by rubbing, *rere'a* sharpened, clean; *roro* to be tight, to incur a debt, *roro'a* to be at fault, to have incurred a debt; *ere* to coil, *ereere'a* also *ereere'a'ile* (a'i Verbal Suffix) coiled. The explanation of the Ulawa word *wala'ana*, *wala'a* to speak (see above, under Noun Suffixes) may possibly be found in the addition of 'a, the adjectival Suffix to the Verb *wala*.

There remains yet the provision of a theory to account for the initial portion of the Passive Suffixes, *hi*, *mi*, etc., of the second class, and *i*, *ri*, *whi*, *a'i*, of the first class. It will be noticed that the Consonant and first Vowel of the Passive Suffixes of the second class, and the initial vowel or Consonant with Vowel (excluding the form *na*) of the first class are the same as the initial Consonants and Vowels of the Verbal Suffixes, and since the use of Passives in the Polynesian languages has very probably arisen, as Dr. Codrington suggests, from an impersonal use of the Verb as seen in Melanesia, we seem to be justified in concluding that the Passive Suffixes are made up of the Verbal Suffixes with the addition of the adjectival Suffixes conveying a participial force.

The use of the Transitive Suffixes in the formation of the Passive Suffixes would seem to be accounted for by what Mr. Ray says

in "Common Origin of the Oceanic Languages," "The identity of passive and transitive is strengthened by the fact that the Polynesian passive is used when the *action* is emphatic rather than the agent, and hence is more frequently used in the case of transitive verbs than the active form." This laying stress upon the *action* is seen in the Samoan Passive Suffix *a'ina* which is said to denote intensity of action; *tuli* to drive, *tulia'ina* to drive on; *telea'i* to run quickly, *telea'ina* to hurry on. The same thing appears in the Gilbert Islands where the Passive Suffix *kina* denotes "a frequentative use"; *matai* to look at covetously, *mataiakina* to look at with longing for; *mutiakina* to regard.

It having been shown that Verbal Suffixes occur in Polynesian languages there is no difficulty in drawing the conclusion that since the Verbal Suffix definitely strengthens the action of the Verb (and having regard to the nature of the Passive as explained above by Mr. Ray), the *hi*, *mi*, etc., and the *i*, *ri*, *whi*, *a'i*, of the Passive endings are identical with the Verbal Suffixes, and that the *a*, *ua*, of the endings conveys the passive, i.e., the adjectival, or participial, force.

No rule can be given as to whether the Suffixes with *n* are to be used for the formation of the Passive in any particular case, or those without *n*.

#### *The Passive in Fijian.*

Dr. Hazelwood says that the Passive in Fijian is formed by replacing the final *a* of the Verbal Suffix by *i*, or by adding *i* to the verb when no Verbal Suffix is ordinarily used, but this statement is questioned by Dr. Codrington in "Mel. Lang.," p. 191, on the authority of Dr. Fison, who says that "no Fijian would use Hazelwood's example." If Dr. Hazelwood's examples of words used showing a passive meaning, are correct, then they would seem to fall into line with such words in Maori as *hokai* spread out; *punui* close together; *whai* settled. These have been shown above (see Verbal Suffixes in Maori) to be Participles formed by the addition of Verbal Suffixes.